# REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Washington Headquarters Service, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget,

Pages Public Reduction Project (1704-0188) Weshington, DC 20503

PLEASE DO I	NOT RETURN Y		503. THE ABOVE ADDRI	ESS.				
	EPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 2. REPORT TYPE 3. DATES COVERED (From - To) September 2011 - April 2012							
1-05-2012	OVERTITE	IVIas	ster of Military St	udies Research		September 2011 - April 2012		
4. TITLE AND The Five Po					5a. COI N/A	NTRACT NUMBER		
		ation of the Sc	uth Sudan Armed Forces					
				,4. 2. 6. 2		5b. GRANT NUMBER N/A		
					IN/A			
						OGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER		
					N/A			
6. AUTHOR(S			,	,		DJECT NUMBER		
Major Marc	Travell Walke	er			N/A			
					5e. TASK NUMBER			
					N/A	N/A		
					SE WOE			
					N/A	K UNIT MUNIDER		
		:						
	NG ORGANIZAT Imand and St		AND ADDRESS(ES)			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER		
	os University	an College				N/A		
2076 South								
Quantico, V	A 22134-5068	8						
	NG/MONITORIN	G AGENCY NAM	ME(S) AND ADDRES	SS(ES)		10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)		
N/A			, .	,		N/A		
						· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
						11. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER		
						N/A		
12. DISTRIBUT	TION AVAILABII	LITY STATEMEN	NT					
Unlimited								
43 CHODIEMI	ENTARY NOTES							
N/A	ENTART NOTES	,						
1 1,7 .								
14. ABSTRACT								
						education, institutional development, the		
		lier" reserve,	military reorgani:	zation, and Fore	₃ign Intern	nal Defense (FID) to sustain and bolster		
the active fo	rces.		•			•		
15. SUBJECT 1	TEDMS							
	n Armed Force	es						
Transformati								
Professional								
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF			OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON		
			ABSTRACT UU	OF PAGES	Marine Corps University / Command and Staff College			
a. REPORT Unclass	b. ABSTRACT Unclass	c. THIS PAGE Unclass		]		DNE NUMBER (Include area code) 4-3330 (Admin Office)		

United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College Marine Corps University 2076 South Street Marine Corps Combat Development Command Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068

#### MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

# TITLE: The Five Point Plan Foundational Transformation of the South Sudan Armed Forces

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

#### AUTHOR:

Major Marc T. Walker

AY 11-12

Mentor and On Approved:	al Defense Committee	ee Member: _	PHD Pauletta	otis
Date:	10 ay	ent 201	2	
Oral Defense (	Committee Meniber:	, PHO E	dward Ericks	<u> </u>
Approved: Date:	Elwarfend 10 april 20	12		·

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DISCLAIMER	1
INTRODUCTION	2
THE SUDAN'S PEOPLES LIBERATION ARMY	4
EDUCATION	5
THE IMPLICATION OF EDUCATION FOR OFFICERS	6
EDUCATION OF ENLISTED MEMBERS	10
INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT	11
RESERVE FORCES	14
REORGANIZATION	17
FOREIGN INTERNAL DEFENSE	20
CONCLUSION	21
REFERENCES	23

#### DISCLAIMER

THE OPINIONS AND CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF EITHER THE MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY. REFERENCES TO THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.

QUOTATION FROM, ABSTRACTION FROM, OR REPRODUCTION OF ALL OR ANY PART OF THIS DOCUMENT IS PERMITTED PROVIDED PROPER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT IS MADE.

#### Introduction

"The Republic of South Sudan was born out of the ruins of war, getting its freedom from the fires of persecution"

General Salva Kiir Mayardit, President of South Sudan, Washington D.C. Dec. 2011

The Five Point Plan is a strategy to transform the South Sudan Armed Forces (SSAF) into a professional army while employing the Army in national development. The SSAF, formerly the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) successfully fought against Sudan's Armed Forces during South Sudan's road to independence. The SSAF fought under the direction of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) during the civil war. Members from the SPLA and SPLM have merged to form the new Government of South Sudan (GoSS). South Sudan is fighting for the survival of the young nation. The future of South Sudan will be in peril if it cannot professionalize its forces. The SSAF must transform into a professional army in order to ensure the stability of South Sudan throughout its period of reconstruction. The five core areas required to develop the SSAF into a professional army are: education, institutional development, the creation of a "Citizen Soldier" reserve, military reorganization, and Foreign Internal Defense (FID) to sustain and bolster the active forces.

For South Sudan to prosper as a nation, the SSAF must be capable of maintaining stability as the nation develops. Maintaining stability requires the SSAF to assist the GoSS in complex scenarios that will arise as a result of the civil war such as humanitarian support and lawlessness. South Sudan's enemies are armed groups, militias, terrorist organizations such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), and engagements along the northern border. A humanitarian crisis is emerging in South Sudan as a result of the civil war with Sudan. Economic and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Janowitz, Morris, *The Citizen Soldier and National Service*, (1979) Air University Review

infrastructure development in South Sudan is just starting to be addressed due to years of neglect and war. Tension with Sudan in the north over oil, exasperate the governance of the aforementioned situations

South Sudan enters a new era focused on internal state development. The SSAF will be the key enabler of the GoSS. The SSAF can serve a greater purpose for South Sudan in assisting with post war reconstruction efforts. South Sudan currently has international attention because of its status as a new nation. However, instability, historical perceptions of past corruption by the SSAF, and an undereducated national workforce deter external investment. With an organized force of over 180,000 personnel, the SSAF has an opportunity to secure the future of South Sudan. The SSAF plays a large role in national development as a professional force subordinate to civilian authority. The SSAF must fulfill the purpose of its founding, liberating and securing the future of South Sudan.

The future of South Sudan is tied to the SSAF. South Sudan's international humanitarian relief, economic investment, and interest will dissolve if the state remains unstable. Despite Central Africa's history of instability, South Sudan maintains a unique opportunity of building its nation from the ground up. South Sudan's future is tied to its current international diplomatic momentum and the 180,000 man SSAF. If the SSAF can professionalize and gain a positive perception from its people and the international community, it will secure the future for South Sudan. Education, institutional development, the creation of a "Citizen Soldier" reserve,

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Janowitz, Morris, *The Citizen Soldier and National Service*, (1979) Air University Review

military reorganization, and FID logically implemented will gradually transform the SSAF into a professional force.

#### The Sudan's Peoples Liberation Army

The SSAF was founded by LtCol John Garang in 1983 after he was ordered to suppress a rebellion in the south as the result of Shari Law placed on non-Muslims. He was educated within Sudan and earned an advanced degree in economics from the University of Iowa. Additionally, he attended a U.S. Army Captains Infantry course at Fort Benning, Georgia. Under the guidance of John Garang, the SSAF grew from 12,500 to 180,000 members. He viewed laws enacted by the Sudan government against non-Muslims in the south as unequal. Social inequality, forced Arabization, and economic exploitation by the Sudan government were unjust. During the civil war LtCol Garang became President of the Interim South Sudan government. He was killed in a helicopter crash is 2005. Under his leadership, the SSAF was successful in the field and in conjunction with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the political organization of the rebellion produced South Sudan's government leadership. The SPLA later changed its name to the SSAF.

The SSAF is a national liberation army comprised of a national core and over 17 other armed groups. The SSAF fought against the Sudan's Armed Forces in a 30 year civil war which culminated in a Comprehensive Peace Agreement, leading to South Sudan's independence. The strategic goal of the SSAF is to become an internationally recognized professional army. In his work *On War* <sup>3</sup>Carl Von Clausewitz famously defined the essential trinity in politics and war as

4

"people, army, and government." Beyond military capability and war, an army must be subordinate to a government, and serve the people of its nation. A professional army is led and managed by a professional officer corps, serves its people, and is subordinate to the national government.

The major concern since the independence of South Sudan is whether the SSAF will be subordinate to civilian authority. There is a historical trend of government transition through coup d'états by military leaders. The SSAF has a historical relationship with the SPLM and senior leadership from both organizations from the current Government of South Sudan. A major point of internal and international concern is the status of the estimated 17 armed groups who joined the SSAF for the national cause against the North. Now that South Sudan is an independent nation, its people expect the government to provide leadership and services better than that of the unified state. The senior military and civilian leadership in South Sudan typically possess post-secondary educations they obtained in Sudan or abroad. The majority of the population within South Sudan is illiterate. These education levels are problematic for a nation seeking international investment.

#### Education

The essential element of the Five Point Plan is improving education levels in the SSAF. Eradicating illiteracy in the SSAF should be a national priority. As the education level in a military increases, the range of capabilities that the military can provide increases. Education serves as a building block for all the other initiatives and must be implemented concurrently. Historically, militaries are not required to be literate; however an uneducated military limits its

capabilities. An uneducated military is confined to tactics focused on kinetic operations and is of limited use to its government beyond direct combat situations. The SSAF is an organized element of society that the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) directly controls. Due to long term neglect of academic institutions, education is a long term solution to national problems with its overall workforce.

Investing in the education of soldiers serving in the SSAF will improve its national workforce. A soldier's long term national value is rooted in what he can contribute to that society after military service. An uneducated or illiterate veteran is prone to unemployment, dissatisfaction, and manipulation by extremist groups. This is a common problem with armed groups who have little cognitive understanding of the long term implications of the use of violence and its effect on society. The ability to read and write is a fundamental prerequisite for skill development and participation in societal institutions. Basic education and useful skill sets make veterans contributors rather than potential threats to society.

The long term benefits of prioritizing education within the SSAF will exceed the cost to implement the programs. By serving in the SSAF, soldiers make a basic commitment in the future of their nation. Investments and international support were given to the SSAF for specialized training during the civil war; however, literacy rates are low. When a soldier leaves or retires from the SSAF with no employable skills besides military training they are likely to become unemployed. Thus, military skills that are not transferable to the civilian sector cause former service members to be of limited value to society. Further SSAF veterans are vulnerable to exploitation by armed groups, militias, and criminal elements if they become unemployed.

Investing in education for the SSAF benefits the national workforce during active service and upon completion of obligated service.

Literacy is the basic foundation of education and a key component for long term, individual prosperity. When the GoSS and the SSAF are criticized for not having a coherent transformation strategy this criticism is directly correlated to the National literacy rate. Currently, the literacy rate in South Sudan is 27 percent. A military force capable of maintaining sovereignty, international credibility, and status of a professional army must be educated. An educated military force stabilizes a nation while they are in service and enriches the society following transition from active service to veteran. An educated population assists in numerous areas of society.

Singapore exemplifies a country adapting its education structure to maintain competitiveness in the international environment. According to Joel Springer after World War II, "Singapore's new government began building an infrastructure and educational system that would be attractive to foreign investors." Singapore achieved this in spite of numerous obstacles such as language and ethnicity barriers. Much like the SSAF, Singapore's workforce had members that were beyond school age. Singapore created "the Basic Education for Skills Training," it targeted "225,000 workers for adult education programs." Singapore's Ministry of Education sees these transformation actions as a form of "social control and human resources."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Spring, Joel, H, Education and the Rise of the Global Economy (Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education, (1998) Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, Mahwah, NJ <sup>5</sup> Spring, Joel, H, Education and the Rise of the Global Economy (Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education, (1998) Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, Mahwah, NJ

With over 180,000 members in the military, South Sudan could benefit from an education concept similar to the one used by Singapore in order to transform the SSAF.

During the post World War I and II eras the United States prioritized education in its military. During World War I, the United States Armed Expeditionary Force (AEF) recognized the need to raise the literacy level of service members serving overseas in Europe and Africa. During World War II 12 million men and women received significant training during their time on active duty. However, training alone was not enough to assist them in "fulfilling their potential and improve their abilities and understandings." The U.S. launched a massive education initiative which provided correspondence courses and vocational training. All of the U.S. armed services dedicated internal organizations to providing correspondence instruction. The creation of the Montgomery GI Bill provided veterans with resources and funding to attend college producing veterans that were employable beyond the skill sets that they learned in the military. The long term result of investment in education is a multi-capable military force commensurate with national industry.

Investing in education in order to elevate a military force is an endeavor that has been embarked upon by numerous militaries. In 1918, Dr. John Erskine headed a YMCA commission to educate illiterate or non English speaking soldiers<sup>7</sup> serving in the U.S. Army in Europe.

During the First World War, extended deployments overseas caused the American Expeditionary

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Houole, Cyril, Burr Elbert, Hamilton, Thomas, *The Armed Service and Adult Education*, (1947), Washington D.C., The American Council on Education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cornbise, Alfred E (1997)., Soldier-Scholars, Higher Education in the AEF, 1917-1919, Philadelphia PA, American Philosophical Society

Force to draft "General Order No. 30." General Order No. 30 was a voluntary program that allowed soldiers wishing to further attend schooling. General Order 30, "created divisional schools that were to teach courses at the high school level, together with a list of fourteen designated trades." The result of this effort was a deployed university that educated soldiers at all levels with basic writing, language, leadership skills and useful trades within the service and when they exited the service after the end of the war. This model serves as an ideal concept for the SSAF. Education provides positive implications for both officers and enlisted within the SSAF and is essential for transformation.

#### The Implication of Education for Officers

Education is a fundamental requirement for military officers in any armed service due to the cognitive nature of decision making. The SSAF's founder, John Garang's credibility came from a combination of charisma and academic qualifications he received from U.S. military institutions and academic institutions. Many officers within the SSAF do not have college educations or advanced military training. Education gives an officer a broad range of decision making options for addressing complex problems or managing organizations. At the battalion level and above, officers are expected to contribute as staff members. Career officers gradually progress to a higher military staff which requires more planning skills. As a military officer, credibility comes from academic qualification and military training. Academic qualification for the SSAF officer will immediately place soldiers in a professional category comparable to foreign militaries.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Houole, Cyril, Burr Elbert, Hamilton, Thomas, The Armed Service and Adult Education, (1947), Washington D.C., The American Council on Education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cornbise, Alfred E (1997)., Soldier-Scholars, Higher Education in the AEF, 1917-1919, Philadelphia PA, American Philosophical Society

The primary requirement for a professional military is to educate the officer corps.

During the Sudanese civil war, officers focused on the succession not on formal education from accredited institutions. Due to the civil war the SSAF absorbed numerous groups with varying qualifications. Since the SSAF incorporated over 17 Other Armed Groups (OAG) into its ranks, there was no standard process for officer qualification. Therefore, establishing a qualification system for officers is a major priority for long term prosperity in South Sudan. A professional military officer corps is a symbol of a country's maturity and prosperity.

The professionalism of a country's military officer corps adds status to its military. Standardizing the qualifications and education of the SSAF officer corps should be a priority and could increase the effectiveness of the SSAF. As the SSAF transitions into a professional military, its officers will need the ability to manage its force both administratively and financially. The SSAF will also need to provision and sustain the force through headquarters functions. Strategic leadership seminars and attendance at a war college, should be afforded to academically qualified Colonels and General Officers. Such opportunities will bring them into contact with peers from the international community. Executive leadership are targeted initially to afford them the opportunity to spend a significant amount of time in countries whose militaries are subordinate to civilian authority.

#### **Education of Enlisted Members**

Enlisted members of the SSAF should receive continuous education and professional development throughout their careers. Education may increase the effectiveness of military operations at the tactical level of war. If soldiers can read, write, and have a basic understanding

of mathematics they can interpret orders and comprehend plans. Mathematical ability can improve a unit's potential to employ weapon systems and increase targeting accuracy. Raising education levels in the SSAF may increase logistical abilities such as supply, medical support, communications, and transportation. Sustainment of these functions requires a strong academic foundation and management ability in the organization. An educated enlisted force allows officers to focus on planning and command functions.

With over 180,000 members both the SSAF and South Sudan as whole will benefit from education for the SSAF. Having the SSAF incorporated into a national education concept provides incentive for it to protect those same institutions. Basic literacy and educational standardization for the SSAF enlisted members could serve as a foundation for the country to build upon. Education and specialized skills are a national resource. Therefore, ensuring that the SSAF soldiers have basic literacy and non military specific skills while in the military enhances the proficiency of the force and increases employment options if a soldier leaves the SSAF.

#### Institutional Development

Institutional development is the second requirement of the Five Point Plan. The establishment of national institutions to provide common training for its military forces is a long term necessity for South Sudan. Military reform and transformation must start at the strategic level and be institutionalized. South Sudan has limited facilities and is in the process of constructing a modern headquarters in Juba. The construction and development of education institutions will have a strategic effect on the military and prosperity of South Sudan.

Standardization of basic military training is an essential element of modern militaries throughout

the world. The SSAF is comprised of a number of armed groups; without standardization. The training and qualification system of its officer corps is similar, there is no standard process or established national institution. Establishing national training and educational institutions for the SSAF provides the three core institutions needed to sustain a cohesive military: professional training cadres, training doctrinal development, and gradual standardization of SSAF forces.

The interim constitution of South Sudan explicitly states that the SSAF will be "nonpartisan, national in character, patriotic, regular, professional, disciplined, productive and subordinate to civilian authority as established under this Constitution and law." To properly create a nonpartisan force it is critical to develop national military institutions transform recruits and centralize training. Recruits should be pooled throughout the country but trained under the scrutiny of military and civilian authority. In the long term, such institutions will eliminate the need for costly outside contractor support. Additionally training institutions could build national character within the SSAF. The largest benefit of building institutions is the ability to create and standardize doctrine.

The major benefit derived from developing institutions is the ability to create a doctrinal baseline and standard operating procedures for the SSAF. Schools acquire data that would be useful for training and operations. The study of histories, lineages, and battles that shaped the outcome of the civil war will add to the ethos and espirit de corps of the SSAF. Historical accounts and recollections of significant past victories will create the lore and culture of the organization. Without a lineage military members gain no association when they served in a

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Interim Constitution of South Sudan dtd, 9 July 2011

military force. Institutions are vital because they retain the history of the organization. Having an institutional based organization will allow the SSAF to conduct strategic planning. Achievements of the 17 OAGs that served with the SSAF should be included into SSAF history prior to their disbanding such inclusion will promote nationalism. Building and maintaining institutions would require external investment, but maintaining and managing institutions require higher skill sets beyond basic literacy. By creating national training and educational institutions, the SSAF can standardize the force and provide follow on education. National training facilities will need cadre members and instructors.

Professional training cadres have a lasting effect on recruits and trainees in military institutions. Forming cadres from SSAF operational forces allows professional enhancement of cadre members and trainees. Cadre instructors, have an opportunity for professional instructional development and a teaching experience. Such teaching experience allows cadre members to combine input and share their operational experience with personnel developing doctrine.

Additionally successful tactics and doctrine employed in the field can be codified and incorporated in future training. Creating a cadre to serve at the institutional level is an essential requirement for boot camps, officer training, and service schools.

Instituting a national military basic training course will mold the SSAF into a cohesive force. Attendance at basic training courses emphasizes teamwork, basic military skills and service culture indoctrination. Boot camp indoctrination gives recruits a sense of belonging and a sense of higher purpose within the nation. At a common boot camp tribal differences will gradually erode as soldiers train and develop together.

The U.S military continually trains and educates Marines, sailors, soldiers, and airmen throughout their tours in military service. On average, it takes a basic rifleman four months in the U.S. Army and Marine Corps to complete all required training prior to arriving at an operational unit. Upon completion and graduation at such an event, new service members exhibit a high level of Espirit de Corp often. Ultimately, the individual has a changed perspective. Therefore, by focusing on institutional development, the SSAF will create a foundation for further development and a sense of belonging and higher purpose within its forces and subsequently within the nation. The national foundation provided by institution building, modernization, and reorganization will allow the creation of a reserve military force from the existing SSAF force structure.

# Reserve Forces "Citizens Soldiers"

Central to the the Five Point Plan is the creation of a "Citizen Soldier" reserve. Western professional forces are composed of civilians who serve in the military part-time and have full-time occupations. Reserves units augment active military forces thru regular rotations or are activated during times of national emergencies. The creation of a military reserve for South Sudan enables a strategic capability and serves as a model for other African nations. African nations are plagued with three problems associated with their regular militaries, (1) lack of specialized training in communications and logistics, (2) the transitioning of military members to society, and (3) civilian control of the military. Creating/transforming a reserve force to support national objectives could stem unemployment, support the military, build infrastructure and

provide valuable trade skills to the national workforce. South Sudan should conscript a portion of its population and assign them to a reserve focused on military and national goals.

Conscripting a reserve force addresses three key areas within South Sudan's society: pooling manpower resources, denying recruitment to criminal groups, and strengthening census efforts. According to the Helmond Heitman of Jane's Defense Weekly "a key demographic challenge is rapid urbanization, resulting in concentrations of underemployed youth in cities and towns, presenting a pool of recruits to criminal and guerrilla groups." By conscripting a portion of the population, the GoSS can provide employment and skills to personnel who would otherwise not have an opportunity to find work. By employing conscripts in the SSAF, guerilla movements and criminal groups become less attractive. Citizens can see the reserve in a humanitarian role, and a legitimate employment opportunity. The GoSS should conscript personnel fit for military service from the influx of refugees. The GoSS can use the SSAF to gather census information thru recruiting and screening processes of the refugee population. Thru a conscripted reserve the GoSS can pool manpower and devote it toward national priorities such as infrastructure development and reconstruction.

South Sudan is faced with building and sustaining a national infrastructure. Creating specialty organizations within the reserve, in the near term, will expedite the completion of national infrastructure projects. In addition the reserve will provide security for resources to construct the infrastructure. A reserve in this role could draw external investors, who would otherwise be concerned about the security of their investments. Creating/transforming a reserve

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Helmoed Heitman, Optimizing Africa's Security Force Structures, Africa Security Brief, a publication of the African Center for Strategic Studies, NO. 13 / May 2011

within the SSAF will assist in the building of the nation and provide the catalyst for a long-term civil military partnership. The long term benefit of such arrangement is the availability of personnel able to manage the infrastructure vice contracting external foreign agencies. By having a military reserve the GoSS can create specialty branches to meet national and military objectives.

A reserve force that possess non military specific occupational specialties can used to support national objectives. The reserve should be comprised of specialties such as engineering, logistics, medicine, administration, and communications. By creating/transforming such a force South Sudan can rapidly mobilize the reserve to assist in infrastructure related projects while simultaneously creating a marketable future workforce. These forces could be utilized in the same way as the U.S. National Guard. Most importantly, reserves with special skills fill an existing gap in the national workforce. Long term, reserve forces partner and plan with the civilian agencies or companies for future projects. The strategic effect of a specialty focus in the reserve is the image and eventual partnership with the civilian population in South Sudan.

Citizen involvement with the military through a "Citizens Soldier" type reserve, can boost the military's image, credibility and trust with the population. Specialties such as logistics and medicine could be used to distribute basic needs such as food, clothing, and medical assistance. The reserve could be employed as a United Nation, African Union or humanitarian assistance forces at refugee camps. According to Catherine Wiesner,, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bereau of Population, Refugees and Migration "South Sudan is witnessing the largest

semi-peacetime movement of people since World War II." The SSAF can provide humanitarian assistance support for the GoSS with a properly trained reserve while simultaneously boosting its image with the population. The medical specialty, in particular, would prevent epidemics and focus on long term health issues. Engineering and communications technology would focus on establishing and maintaining a national infrastructure. Allowing members to transition to a reserve force and gain a non-military skill set provides employment opportunities while assisting with transition and integration with civilian peers. These employment and transition opportunities contribute to national development and decreasing dependence on foreign support.

A specialty-focused reserve is a concept of employing a national reserve under civilian authority. This specialty reserve concept still has the President as the Commander in Chief, but its mobilization to support the divisions or brigades must be authorized and funded by the parliament. The reserve under civilian control prevents coups and unnecessary concentration of military power in the hands of a few who could threaten the state. To focus the military on accomplishing kinetic and infrastructure missions, the active forces and reserve command and control structure should be balanced between the legislative and executive branches of government.

#### Reorganization

Under the Five Point Plan, the command and control structure of the SSAF should be reorganized into three parts. According to Mathurin Houngnikpo, a professor at the African Center

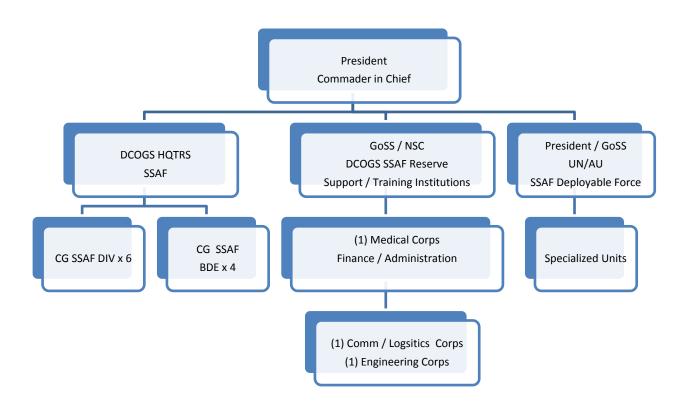
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Wiesner, Catherine, Lyman, Princeton, Humanitarian *Situation in Sudan and South Sudan*. *Special Briefing*, April, 2, 2012 Washington, DC

for Strategic Studies, "Democratic civilian control of the security sector in Africa has been uneven during the past 20 years." The active forces would fall under the direct control of the Commander in Chief, through the Deputy Chief of General Staff. The reserve, support and training institutions should fall under a separate Deputy Chief of General Staff, under the authority of parliament of the GoSS. A separate, deployable force should be created for future missions and placed under the direct control of the President and GoSS. This command structure provides a unique check and balance to prevent coups. This structure places institutional and management functions under the direct control of the GoSS. As government capability and capacity matures, institutional changes in the military will be directly affected. Under this structure the reserve component will eventually make up the bulk of the overall South Sudan military and operational forces will be smaller and more capable.

The SSAF is comprised of divisions and brigades located throughout the country. A rotational system supporting operational units could be established where, upon return from rotation reservist would return to their civilian occupations. This would allow division and brigade commanders to retain purely military functions and focus on tactical war fighting proficiency, as well as routinely mobilize with additional capabilities. The specialty focused active reserve under this concept, creates a unique opportunity for the GoSS to improve the capabilities of its military and the nation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Houngnikpo, Mathurin C., Africa's Militaries: A Missing Link in Democratic Transitions, African Security Brief, a publication of the African Center for Strategic Studies, NO. 17/ January 2012

Incorporating the new structure and capabilities from the reserve will eventually strengthen the capabilities of SSAF operational forces. In order to shift the general mindset of the SSAF, units should be developed to conduct a limited range of missions other than combat operations. These missions should incorporate both the operational and reserve forces. This would strengthen both the image and reputation of the SSAF in the eyes of the South Sudanese people. The SSAF should organize and equip a deployable force to participate in regional missions on the African continent. This force should be capable of participating in diverse missions ranging from combat to humanitarian operations within the African Union. The SSAF should also partner with the United Nations and train for, and participate in humanitarian assistance missions and exercises.



### Foreign Internal Defense for Actively Engaged Forces

Foreign Internal defense activities in South Sudan should have two primary objectives: assisting the SSAF with maintaining sovereignty and preparing SSAF for future modernization. In Oct 2011, President Barack Obama, "authorized a small number of combat equipped forces, to provide information, advice and assistance," to South Sudan, the Congo, and Uganda. Agencies involved in FID missions should focus on maintaining the tactical efficiency of the SSAF to prevent or address threats to national sovereignty. South Sudan nascent statehood, combined with strained relations over oil in the north, requires the SSAF to deter external threats. Additionally, the SSAF must control internal instability and ensure that paramilitaries do not organize within its force. Continued involvement by foreign militaries and theater security cooperation activities are crucial for South Sudan. As the other areas of the five point plan mature, progress can be made and new capabilities and personnel can modernize and professionalize the SSAF.

Under the Five Point Plan, when an acceptable level of education and institutional development is achieved it will gradually mature and transform the SSAF. Possessing the infrastructure and a modern logistical capability to manage military assets will allow the SSAF to sustain its force. As the reserve makes progress on national development, employment opportunities will emerge to sustain the infrastructure. National development will also provide opportunities for civilian jobs that can be drawn from the manpower pool in the reserve. Education and institutional development milestones achieved within the SSAF will pay off in the long run for the nation. When the SSAF achieves this level of institutional maturity and stability

<sup>14</sup> Lomothe, Dan, Lombardo, Tony, Marines bypassed on LRA mission in Africa, Marine Corps Times, Oct 20, 2011

within South Sudan is improved it could eventually participate in UN activities and be a strong partner in the AU.

FID activities should eventually train the SSAF to work with the UN, foreign forces, and nongovernmental agencies operating in South Sudan. Section 151 (4) (c,f) of South Sudan's constitutional requires that the SSAF to, "protect the people of South Sudan," and be involved in addressing any emergencies, and assist in disaster management and relief in accordance with this Constitution and the law." FID actions focused on disaster management, civil control and international coordination will greatly assist the SSAF. Institutional development will enable a broader range of services such as civil support and humanitarian assistance that the military can provide to the nation. Civil support activities and increased education and proficiency will help the national image and narrative of the SSAF as a professional force.

In order to shift the general mindset of the SSAF, units should be developed to conduct a broad range of missions in addition to combat operations. Creation of a unit of this type will bolster the image and reputation of the SSAF. The SSAF should organize and equip a deployable force to participate in regional missions on the African continent. This force should be capable of participating in multiple mission sets ranging from security to humanitarian missions within the African Union. The SSAF should also form a partnership with the United Nations, train for and participate in humanitarian assistance missions and exercises.

#### Conclusion

<sup>11</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Interim Constitution of South Sudan dtd, 9 July 2011

This thesis covered basic elements and capabilities which can transform the SSAF from its current state to a recognized professional military force. The Five Point Plan is a concurrent effort designed to build national capacity in South Sudan and sustainable military institutions through the SSAF. The SSAF is an organized force and under the control of the government. The SSAF proved its warrior spirit and persistence during the civil war with Sudan. Now it must reform and become an integral part of the building of South Sudan, as well as deterring aggression that could threaten the sovereignty of the state. These goals will not be met without educating the SSAF and solidifying its personnel through common training.

Establishing institutions to educate the SSAF will promote Espirt de Corps and create identity and pride. A specialized reserve focused on the nation's long-term development and military modernization could accelerate reconstruction and infrastructure efforts within South Sudan. Foreign Internal Defense efforts should be directed at short term sustainment of the military until the modernization and higher level C2 functions mature. If the SSAF, can serve in an external mission in the international community, it will give soldiers and commanders a sense of higher purpose and wider view of the world community.

The Five Point Plan presents a cost effective, long term approach to transforming the SSAF. The Five Point Plan will allow South Sudan to prosper as a nation and be capable of maintaining stability as the nation develops. The transformation of the SSAF will increase international community interest and increase prosperity for South Sudan's future.

#### References

- 1. Williams P.D. (2011)., War and Conflict in Africa, Malden MA: Polity Press
- 2. Cornbise, Alfred E (1997)., *Soldier-Scholars, Higher Education in the AEF, 1917-1919*, Philadelphia PA, American Philosophical Society
- 3. Sudan a country study, (1992) The Library of Congress
- 4. Houole, Cyril, Burr Elbert, Hamilton, Thomas, *The Armed Service and Adult Education*, (1947), Washington D.C., The American Council on Education
- 5. Edited by Resnick, Daniel, *Literacy in a Historical Perspective*, (1983) Washington D.C., The Library of Congress
- 6. Weiss, Thomas, G, *Military–Civilian Interactions*, (1999) Lanham Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC
- 7.Arnold, Guy, *Civil Wars in Africa*, (2008) Lanham Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC
- 8. White, Charles, E. *The Enlightened Soldier*, (1989) West Port CT, Praeger Publishers
- 9. The CIA World Fact book, *South Sudan*, <a href="https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html">https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html</a>
- 10. Iyob, Ruth, Khadiagala, Gilbert M., *Sudan, The Elusive Quest for Peace*, (2006), Lynne, Rienner Publishers, Inc, London UK
- 11. Hearing Before The Subcommittee on African Affairs, of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eleventh Congress Second Session, 26 May 2010
- 12. Hearing Before The Subcommittee on African Affairs, of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Twelfth, Congress Second Session, July 14, 2011
- 13. Houngnikpo, Mathurin C., Africa's Militaries: A Missing Link in Democratic Transitions, Africa Security Brief, a publication of the African Center for Strategic Studies, NO. 17/ January 2012
- 14. Helmoed Heitman, Optimizing Africa's Security Force Structures, Africa Security Brief, a publication of the African Center for Strategic Studies, NO. 13 / May 2011
- 15, Wiesner, Catherine, Lyman, Princeton, Humanitarian *Situation in Sudan and South Sudan. Special Briefing*, April, 2, 2012 Washington, DC
- 16. Janowitz, Morris, The Citizen Soldier and National Service, (1979) Air University Review
- 17, Spring, Joel, H, Education and the Rise of the Global Economy (Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education, (1998) Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, Mahwah, NJ
- 18. Lomothe, Dan, Lombardo, Tony, Marines bypassed on LRA mission in Africa, Marine Corps Times, Oct 20, 2011
- 19. The Interim Constitution of South Sudan dtd, 9 July 2011
- 20. Paret, Peter, Howard, Michael, On War, 1984, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ